1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The prayer-stick festival is the most sacred of all ceremonies, 796x laying more restrictions on the participants than any other and demanding more secrecy. Women may not even see the preparations. The speeches are considered so sacred that, though the [778] writer found it possible to transcribe all others, these were refused, on the ground that to recite them at any but festival time would mean death.

The officials of the festival were all hereditary. Each village has 796x a ceremonial director who was in function a priest, and one of 793 them is director-in-chief. Below him is a hierarchy of lesser officials which forms an interesting contrast to the loose organization of most Papago feasts. Officials of the festival are general director; 4 village directors; head ceremonial clown; thirty or more village clowns; head corn meal sprinkler; assistant sprinklers; forty song composers, eight for each of the five villages; three men to paint the singer, one for red paint, one white, one black; man to wait on the fasting director; helper for the corn dancers; corn-meal sprinklers for the corn dancers; woman to make dishes for the fasting director. The only functions not hereditary are those of the dancers and singers who give the actual performance. Of these, one volunteers and the others are chosen for their long hair.

In years when the quadrennial ceremony was to take place, the 796x director-in-chief sent a notice unofficially to the song composers long beforehand, so that they might make preparations. But his official announcement came only fourteen days before the ceremony and was, in itself, a ceremonial. The sub-directors were aware when this announcement was to be made and were waiting at their houses. The director made the circuit of the five villages on foot, in the order, Palo Verde (substituting for Iron Pump), Santa Rosa, Anegam, Akchin, and Archie. This produced, roughly, a counterclockwise circuit. At each village, he went to the house of the village director and stood outside without speaking. The local man emerged, and then the director went forward without speaking toward the next village, the other following. So he collected all his men, who followed him silently, in single file, to Archie.

Here they circled the ceremonial house counterclockwise and then seated themselves in a circle, the director facing east. A few

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317
793
[539]x

Bowlegged!
Hitcia hdhina!(18)

After each two songs two of the singers walked over to perform an act of purification on the neophytes. They approached each one and laid a scraping stick on his breast and back, pressing down four times. As they did this, they breathed out, while the neophyte breathed in the power being given him. Each singer then spoke to him:

19. Hail! Thus do I to you. You will be like me. You will do much. [539]x
You will go about much. You will be like me in action.(9)

Any other virtue of the singer might be augured for the neophyte. [793]

As the singers returned to their seats, one man who was a hereditary sprinkler of corn meal, rose and strewed the sacred meal made from flat-headed corn over their baskets and their scraping sticks, also over the piles of salt and of tokens. During all this performance, the shaman sat by the fire, looking into the salt and then [787]
around the village in order to perceive any sickness or evil which might be present. He had his magic crystal in his hand and used it to "give light." The songs continued until morning, when the basket of salt was carried around by one of the pilgrims and distributed to the bystanders. As each took a lump, he breathed in [788]
from it to obtain power.

BEFORE SALT IS DISTRIBUTED [539]x

20. *Hi hianai hu!*
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!
Finely ground corn [salt]
By daylight we will give.
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!(9)

After the distribution the meeting broke up.

The neophytes now passed the usual period of seclusion to make 317
safe the power they had acquired for failure to do so would bring 793
753

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778 carried under escort to a special shelter and there guarded for twenty-four hours. It is opened only in the Big House by the older men, who clean it and renew the eagle feathers. If, while it is in the mountains, any disaster overtakes the village, they consider that the basket has been disturbed and hasten to visit it.

Arcana of the other villages are of the same general sort. Reports mention:

> a bag of deerskin, containing carved stone turtle (Hohokam relic?) wrapped in hand woven cotton cloth. a stick two feet long carved and painted with representations of melons, squash, corn and clouds. Four sticks ten inches long, painted blue with white spots and with a tuft of beargrass at the tip to represent corn leaves. Turkey feather prayer sticks. Various other objects such as arrow heads, curiously shaped stones, eagle tail feathers.

Even the daughter villages often acquired a fetish, in time, if they found a relic of the Ancient People under propitious circumstances or "saw a stone which some shaman thought would bring rain." The fetish must then be enclosed in a plaited basket of the proper ceremonial sort and placed in charge of a man who knew the hampaṭak, or Wise Speeches.

CEREMONIAL ORATIONS

796 778 537 The Wise Speeches, treated at length under the subject of ceremonies, were ancient rituals describing interviews with the rain god and the subsequent blessing of rain. The speeches were handed down from one generation to another in the loosely hereditary manner already described, that is, taught to the son or other relative who seemed most promising. They were the safeguard for handling sacred objects and no fetish could be unwrapped or moved without their recitation. A man who knew the speeches told the writer how he visited another village and was interested to see their fetish. He was told that the basket could not be opened without the speech; so he began to recite the one he knew. He was shown the fetish and, in four hours, there was a heavy rain.

CEREMONIAL LEADER

793 The man who knew Wise Speeches was the village ceremonial leader. He was called by a number of names: the Wise Speaker, the One Above, the One Ahead, the One Made Big, the Fire Maker, the Keeper of the Plaited Basket, the Keeper of the Smoke or of the Meeting. The last term will be used here as suggesting more of his official functions. As to the origin of his office, informants say:

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"The Keeper and the Sacred House go together. They were decreed in the beginning by Elder Brother" (2). Some thought that in very ancient times this Keeper was the only official. "He went to Elder Brother and got his directions. Then he came back and showed the people what to do" (20). "He went before them like a light. He was their teacher and their father" (40). "He got the Wise Speeches from Elder Brother himself" (4). He was, in fact, a priestly ruler, much like the cacique in the Rio Grande pueblos.

His principal duty was the handling of the fetish which gave the village rain and therefore life. This meant the care of the sacred house where the fetish was lodged on important occasions and, finally, the presiding over all meetings held there. In the earliest times, he lived in the ceremonial house and received the men there for meetings while his family slept. At present, he lives beside it and his wife keeps it clean.

The house was used for meetings both ceremonial and secular and, on such occasions, it was the Keeper's duty to make the fire (hence one of his titles) and then mount to the roof of his shade and summon the men. Sometimes he had younger men to perform both of these functions for him. He called meetings to decide on the dates of ceremonies and whenever the other officials, the war, hunt and game leaders, had communications to make. When the men assembled, he sat at the west of the house, facing the door and opened the meeting with a moral talk bidding them pay attention to what was to be said and use their best judgment.

He acted as priest in all the important local ceremonies held for rain, for growth and for cleansing of crops and must know the appropriate Wise Speeches for each occasion. One informant gave him perquisites which remind one most strongly of the Pueblo cacique. "He must not be bothered with quarrelling. The people used to till his land for him because he worked so hard in the ceremonies." Certainly his land is not tilled for him now, and I have known an old Keeper in actual want because even his young relatives neglected him.

Beside his priestly functions, the Keeper acted as a patriarchal advisor to the village. The importance we give to this duty must depend on whether we consider the secular governor a modern official or an old one. Certainly the reliance on some aged leader as a patriarch and almost a dictator to the village is a pronounced Papago custom. At present that leader is often the secular governor and we need to consider whether he has always had such functions or has taken them over from the priestly leader. In view of the frequent statements that the Keeper was once the only village head,

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793 I am inclined to consider the governor an innovation, gradually
622 usurping the functions of the ancient informal leader and adding to
624 them.

Legends represent the people as applying in all crises to "him who goes before us" and taking his advice as to what to do. At present this ancient leader may still be the chief power in a village, sometimes using the secular governor as a "front" but in one case boldly issuing orders in his own name. However, his power is rapidly declining. The White officials take no cognizance of him and, unless he is a man of powerful personality, he is reduced to a routine ceremonialist who appears only once or twice a year. The list of villages shows an X against those which have a fetish and a Keeper of the Meeting. All the northern villages have both while in some of the southern ones, which have come under intensive Christianizing influence, both have entirely disappeared.

793 The Keeper generally chose his own successor in office from among the male members of his family best suited to the duties. Accounts of the exact arrangements for succession varied in different localities, some informants stating:

"The Keeper chose his own successor. Nobody could criticise," and also, "When a Keeper died, the Elders would go to his brother or someone and say: 'You knew his ways best. You had better lead us'." The latter would seem to be an occurrence of recent times, when anyone with ceremonial knowledge is hard to find.

I am inclined to give most weight to those accounts which state
[623] that the successor, having been chosen by the Keeper, must be approved by the council of elders since this is in accord with general practice in the area. If, according to these accounts, the elders disapproved, they would make their own selection and the Keeper would be obliged to instruct the new candidate.

Since the learning of the rituals was a very long task, the successor was chosen long before the Keeper was ready to quit his office and acted for years as a ceremonial assistant. Such a deputy was never a very young man since the young were not considered competent for ceremonial functions. He might be the Keeper's brother or a classificatory sibling somewhat younger than himself. At Santa Rosa the Keeper, who is somewhere near ninety, has an assistant of seventy who stands with him during rituals and sometimes makes the speech himself; this man is a very distant relative.

But the Keeper had also a young man as messenger, known as
[202] his Leg. This man often made the fire for him, called out the announcements if there was no crier and took messages to people at a distance. He was in line for the office and was expected to

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learn the ritual so that when he himself was middle aged he would be ready for the succession. The man who is Leg at Santa Rosa is father's brother's son's daughter's son to the present Keeper. But in this case the Keeper has other assistants, especially assigned to him by the council because of his great age. They are called his Eyes, his Ears and his Voice, and seem to have been appointed as a special favor because the aged official had trouble in seeing, hearing and in speaking loud.

New villages and villages where the Keeper died suddenly, sometimes appointed a Keeper with few formalities. Standing Rock, founded from Mesquite Root, had no fetish and returned to the home town for ceremonies, but they built a house for meetings and selected one of the older men whom they called Keeper. He performed the routine duties and, when the village wanted a rain ceremony of its own, borrowed the fetish from Mesquite Root and invited the speaker from there. The Keeper at Coyote Village died without a successor and the people insisted that his brother take the office, even without knowing the speeches. They invited any speakers they could find. At present, when Wise speakers are growing scarce, a man who knows any portion of the speeches, even if he has no official position, will be invited to recite them.

THE CRIER

Papago organization being always of a flexible and informal sort, the office of crier was not a fixed one. "The Keeper, if he had a strong voice, would make his announcements himself" (22), while the Hunt and Game leaders would make theirs. But some villages had the system found in the Pueblos of a regular official to make the announcements and to pass his office on by loose heredity. We may conjecture that this was the official pattern and that it was the smaller and poorer villages who cut down the number of officials.

In most large Field villages, the people were awakened every morning and the men called to meeting every evening. The calls seem to have been standardized for each village or perhaps for each individual crier, since any informant was immediately able to recite the official call, but they were all different.

Dawn Call (Komarik) 19

It is daylight. All around is visible the land.
Come forth and see what is around us.

Dawn Call (Kaworik) 14

Hurry! Awake! That you may do something good.
That for the villagers it may be good!

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treated like an uncle in the matter of gifts. There were no clan, moiety or kin restrictions on the guardian's appointment. Here was another expedient for establishing relationships of trust with non-relatives.

The sixteen days of retirement were succeeded by a public ceremony when the Enemy Slayer was purified by the singing of men who had been through the same experience. They formed a kind of unorganized priesthood and were not paid. But the Slayer's weapons and, according to some, the scalp also, were purified by a special dance, performed by people of another village. The *kapetua* (leaping dance) was a graphic representation of a man in battle, performed with the warrior's own weapons. Any agile young man familiar with war technique was eligible to do it and groups of them habitually practiced. Women might follow them, carrying weapons and imitating their movements. A victory in war was often followed by intervillage games in celebration but even if it was not the time for this, all neighboring villages were invited to the purification ceremony "because the warriors suffered for all". Among them might be several men prepared to do the leaping dance. Paying the dancers was the duty of the hero's family and particularly those who formed part of his geographic unit and would share his honors and good luck. But a scalp brought into the village gave it rain and any villager who helped in the payment for this would have specially good luck with his crops.

One dance was performed for each Enemy Slayer, sometimes by the same performers, sometimes by different ones. After each dance the two leaders, who bore shield and club, should receive horses or cows (or a bit of manure representing them) while the others had lesser gifts. The hero's father and uncles should give the animals and any of them who could, provided the gift. "He didn't get anything back. Just good luck."

If the family could afford no animals, some one else would volunteer for the honor of the village, and probably be paid back in time by gifts from the family though the statement is that "he did not want anything. He did it for the village." It was at this time that the generous man got his reward "for if the hero's father had not been stingy, then everybody would help him make gifts "but otherwise, the provision would be meagre and the other villages would "talk about him and his son." This was disgrace.

The gifts collected were placed in two piles near the dance ground, one pile for men and one for women, and a man and woman of the hero's family were selected to distribute them. There follows a list from a ceremony at Kuitatk, about 1860. The hero, in this case,

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huaro ribs, surmounted with greasewood twigs and some large coarse grass called sacáte colorado. The grass is kept in place by hoops of ocotillo inside and outside, placed at intervals of eight or ten inches. The top of the house is covered with earth.

The entrance is small, usually only two and one-half feet high and two feet wide, and is provided with a grass door which, when not in active use, leans up against the wall outside. To get in or out one is obliged to crawl on hands and knees. The fire is made in the centre, and there is no other escape for the smoke than the door, there being no window; as the people inside generally sit on the ground, the smoke does not trouble them; besides, as the house is warm, a large fire is not needed. In the summer these dwellings are delightfully cool, affording also excellent protection against the violent, though short-lasting, rain-storms of the desert.

Usually a light stockade of ocotillo and other kinds of poles runs around the lodge to prevent the cattle from eating the grass of which it is made. In this house the youth are instructed in the traditions and beliefs of the tribe, and here is discussed everything of more or less importance, meetings being held every evening of the year. The man who is in charge of the lodge and its sacred objects is elected for life. He lives near by and is called Keeper of the Smoke, which means tobacco smoke. The name for tobacco is *viv;* when used for certain sacred purposes it is called coyote tobacco (*pan vivuka*). The young plants are covered with greasewood branches, but the Papagoes nowadays rarely grow the weed and